AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED IN THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL MEETING-HOUSE,

IN

PROVIDENCE,

ON THE

Fourth of July, 1799.

BY JONATHAN MAXCY, A. M.
PRESIDENT OF RHODE-ISLAND COLLEGE.

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PRINTED BY JOHN CARTER, JUN. AT THE NEW PRINTING-OFFICE,
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CALLED by your ſuffrages, Fellow-Citizens, I once more addreſs you on the Anniverſary of our National Independence. This event, though glorious in itſelf, and wonderful in its effects, is, by the peculiar ſituation of our public affairs, exalted to a point of unprecedented importance. Never has our country been expoſed to greater danger; never has our government been aſſaulted with greater violence, by foreign foes and domeſtic traitors; never have been more inſidious, perſevering and malevolent attempts to corrupt public opinion; to undermine the foundations of religion, to cut aſunder the ſinews of moral obligation, and to cover this happy land with carnage, deſolation and ruin. Let us then with enthuſiaſm hail the Birth-Day of our Sovereignty. Let us ſummon all our energies againſt the artifices of ſecret intrigue, and the aggreſſions of open hoſtility. To animate your patriotiſm, and inſpire you with all the ardour of violated liberty; to render you feelingly alive to the neceſſity of united vigorous meaſures of defence, to rouze up your generous indignation at the unprovoked abuſes practiſed by a foreign nation of gigantic power, permit me to call back your attention to that period, not far paſt, when all that was dear to you as members of ſociety and ſubjects of government, was ſuſpended over the gulf of ruin; when you roſe up with an invincible courage, and, in the voice of united thunders, announced to the world that you were FREE, SOVEREIGN and INDEPENDENT. On that great and trying occaſion, what were your feelings? Did you tamely ſubmit

to the uſurping arm of foreign domination? Did you ſurrender your liberties, without a ſtruggle or a ſigh? No, Americans, you did not; you acted the part of men worthy of liberty; you diſplayed the ſtandard of freedom; you drew the ſword of vengeance; you diſcharged the thunderbolt of deſtruction, and, under the protection of heaven, obtained a triumph, which glitters in capitals on the pillars of eternity. Succeeding years crowned the efforts of our wiſdom, and the labours of our induſtry, with a ſucceſs and proſperity which have aſtoniſhed the world. The eſtabliſhment of an energetic government, the cultivation of the ſoil, the rapid increaſe of population, the great extenſion of commerce, the improvement of arts and ſciences—all combined to perpetuate our freedom, to augment our power, and to render us a reſpectable and invincible nation. Guarded by an immenſe ocean, we hoped to eſcape that whirlwind which has long been ſpending its rage on the devoted nations of Europe. We aſſumed a neutral ſtation: our right hand held out the branch of peace, while our left welcomed the perſecuted ſtranger. Britain firſt ſmote us with her gigantic arm: ſhe liſtened to our remonſtrances, and redreſſed our wrongs. France, irritated at our ſucceſs in preſerving peace, determined on revenge. She renewed with additional vigour thoſe ſecret, inſidious arts, which ſhe had long practiſed to controul our public councils, and to deſtroy the confidence of the people in the government of their choice. Detected and diſappointed by the vigilance of our rulers, ſhe threw aſide the maſk, and diſcloſed her vengeful countenance on the Atlantic. Our commerce fell a prey to her all-devouring jaws. The overtures made by our government have been neglected with the moſt haughty diſdain, and our meſſengers of peace treated like the repreſentatives of a nation deſtitute of wiſdom and power. We have now no reſource left to vindicate our honour and our rights, but our courage and our force. Theſe we truſt are ſufficient to defend us againſt all enemies, whether foreign or domeſtic.

We muſt rank among our diſgraces as well as among our misfortunes, the exiſtence of a ſet of men in our country, who have derived their political principles from foreign influence and foreign intrigue; who exert their utmoſt efforts to ruin our government, and to proſtrate

all permanent eſtabliſhments. Theſe men diſcard, as the effects of ſuperſtition, all ancient inſtitutions; and, inſtead of adhering to an uniform order of things, delight in perpetual revolutions. Their ſyſtem of rights, like their ſyſtem of government, is metaphyſic and fantaſtical. They do not conſider that government is a ſcience derived from the experience of ages, and that it ought to embrace the rights and welfare, not of the preſent age only, but of all poſterity. They conſider the chief magiſtrate in no other view than a private citizen; government in no other view than an affair of temporary expediency or advantage. Thus they level that diſtinction which is the foundation of ſubmiſſion to laws; and reduce a contract the moſt ſolemn and important to an equality with a partnerſhip in commerce, which at any hour may be broken off and diſſolved. Let their ideas of government be realized in actual operation, and there is an end of all order, peace and proſperity. For how can agriculture and commerce, arts and ſciences, be carried on to perfection under an adminiſtration perpetually changing? What ſecurity has property? What excitement can there be to induſtry, where it is liable to loſe, in one moment, the acquiſition of years? A good government will derive aſſiſtance from the experience of paſt ages. It will embrace and perpetuate the complicated maſs of individual and public rights and intereſts. It ought to be conſidered as an inheritance to be tranſmitted from one generation to another; and not as the capricious offspring of a moment, perpetually expoſed to deſtruction, from the varying whim of popular phrenzy, or the daring ſtrides of licentious ambition. The great objects of national importance cannot be obtained, except under a political ſyſtem, rendered permanent by a well regulated balance of power; guarding on the one hand againſt tyrannical uſurpation, and on the other againſt democratic violence. Such we conceive is the government of theſe United States. Nevertheleſs, there are many who view it in a far different light; or, becauſe they are conſcious of its energy, are continually advancing opinions and doctrines which tend to its ſubverſion. They well know that the people of this country are very averſe to a government like that of England. They take advantage from this circumſtance, and are continually ringing it in our ears, that our government apes the manners of the Britiſh, and

is rapidly changing into that complicated ſyſtem of monarchy, ariſtocracy and democracy. This repreſentation is given, either from ignorance of the Britiſh conſtitution, or from a deſire to annihilate our confidence in our own. Compare for a moment the principal branches of the Engliſh government with the principal branches of the American. How great the contraſt! How wide the difference! The king of Great-Britain is independent; the Preſident of the United States is not. The former holds his throne by hereditary right; a right not derived from the conſent of the people, nor at the diſpoſal of the people: the latter holds his office by election, and with the conſent of the people. The Preſident of the United States, after a ſhort ſpace of time, deſcends and aſſumes his place as a private citizen; the king of Great-Britain holds his crown and his throne through life. The former is accountable for his conduct, and liable to impeachment whenever he violates the laws; the latter is accountable to no human power, nor can he be impeached at any human tribunal. In the king we behold an enormous power, independent and unimpeachable; in the Preſident we behold a power limited by the conſtitution, and incapable of commmitting abuſes with impunity. Can we deſcry any reſemblance between theſe two important branches of the American and Britiſh governments? Why then all this outcry againſt the enormous power of our ſupreme magiſtrate? Why ſo many induſtrious attempts to perſuade the people that he is an aſpiring monarch? I will tell you: It is becauſe we are bleſſed with a group of government levellers, who cultivate thoſe all-preſerving, democratic virtues, jealouſy and ingratitude.

In the government of Great-Britain is an inheritable peerage. The lords temporal and ſpiritual are independent: they hold their ſeats without the conſent of the people, and can hold them againſt their conſent. How different the American Senators! Choſen by the people in a conſtitutional mode, they are wholly dependent for their power on the people; and muſt, after a preſcribed term, revert to their places as private citizens. Great-Britain has an houſe of commons. In this branch lies the only ſhare which the people have in the government, and here their influence is very ſmall. For the commons conſiſt of all ſuch men of property in the kingdom as have

not a ſeat in the houſe of lords. The knights which repreſent the counties are choſen by the proprietors of lands; and the citizens and burgeſſes, who repreſent the cities and boroughs, are choſen by the mercantile part of the nation. Hence the inequality of repreſentation is ſo great in the houſe of commons, that the people rank this among their greateſt grievances. We can diſcover no reſemblance between the Britiſh houſe of commons and our houſe of repreſentatives. In ſhort, the moſt important branches of the Britiſh government are independent and hereditary: all branches of the American government are dependent and elected. Who but a madman, or an enemy to our country, could have had the effrontery to aſſert, that our government is formed after the Britiſh model? Our government is our own, and ſo long as we adhere to it, we ſhall be a people free, independent, and invincible.

Another ſentiment ſtrenuouſly maintained by the enemies of our government, is, that the union of the States is an affair of occaſional convenience or advantage; and that any State, whenever ſhe ſees fit, has a right to denounce the proceedings of Congreſs, and to ſecede from the great political body. Theſe poſitions are advanced with a view to impede the energy of the Federal Government, and even to undermine its foundation. If admitted and reduced to practice, they will render the execution of laws utterly uncertain; and in caſe of foreign invaſion, will expoſe the government to deſtruction and the country to devaſtation. The advocates of theſe ſtrange political opinions ſeem not diſpoſed to profit by paſt examples. They are like thoſe fanatics who look for all wiſdom in themſelves; "and ſuch never fail to find it." I would cite them to the ſtates of ancient Greece, at the time of the Perſian invaſion, under Xerxes. Had theſe ſtates been united under a common government; had they been reſponſible to ſome ſupreme controlling power; they would not, through fear and jealouſy, have deſerted the public cauſe, and have left the Athenians and Spartans to oppoſe the immenſe army of Aſia. One would ſuppoſe, that in a time of ſuch preſſing danger, a ſenſe of the neceſſity of indiſſoluble union, would have had the force of a law, to compel all the ſtates to engage in the common cauſe. But the reverſe took place. The haughty monarch of Perſia, taking ad-

vantage of the diſunion of his enemies, preſſed forward, marked his ſteps with *fire* and *blood*, took the city of Athens, which his general Mardonius ſoon after entirely deſtroyed. This example is a loud warning to us, that a country divided into a number of independent ſtates can have no ſafety but in union, and no union but in reſponſibility to a ſupreme controlling power. I will hazard the aſſertion, that the ſtates of Greece ſuffered more from their internal diſſentions and diviſions, which aroſe from the want of a Federal Government, poſſeſſed of a power over them all, than they did from all their foreign wars. Is it not the part of prudence, to profit by the errors, as well as by the wiſdom of paſt ages? Is it not the part of folly, in the preſent advanced ſtate of the ſcience of government, to admit an idea which the example of all the ancient independent republics reprobates, as the fruitful ſource of diviſion, violence and deſtruction?

THOSE metaphyſic knights in the ſcience of civil policy, who have attempted the ſubverſion of our government, have done no ſmall miſchief by the perpetual uſe of certain words and phraſes, which, though they conveyed no definite meaning, yet were calculated like the incantations of magic, to blind, ſeduce and miſlead the unwary. "LIBERTY, EQUALITY, RIGHTS OF MAN;" theſe are the enſigns armorial of the whole tribe of political ſpeculatiſts; theſe they hold up to the people, with a view to change real liberty into licentiouſneſs; real equality into murderous violence; and the real rights of man into indiſcriminate plunder. The indefinite phraſe, "*Rights of Man*," ſeems to imply, that man is born into the world with certain connatural political rights. This cannot be true, for government is the creature of man's invention and wiſdom, and is founded on the compact of men in ſociety. If man has any political rights which he can claim, it is becauſe he is a member of the political ſyſtem, or a partner in the great community of rights attached to the government under which he lives, whether this government is formed by his cotemporaries, or inherited from his anceſtors. But man, conſidered as ſuch, has but one right, that of ſelf-preſervation. The phraſe "*Rights of Man*," has been laviſhly thrown out in this as well as in other countries, with a view to perſuade the people that their government was an arbitrary engroſſment of power; that it was an unreaſonable reſtraint on their

paſſions and energies; that as it denied them certain rights which they might claim becauſe they were men, it ought to be demoliſhed and buried in ruin. The direct tendency of the doctrine ſtyled "*Rights of Man*," is to diſquiet the people, to ſet them at variance with their rulers, to fill all the grades of ſociety with an unreaſonable jealouſy of each other, and to change the order of civil inſtitutions into the anarchy of barbarous aſſociation.

Let us for a moment contemplate the magical, wonder-working word, "Equality." This, in the French cavalcade of death, is harneſſed up behind Liberty. That fair goddeſs is with reluctance dragged into the train, and thruſt forward, that her charms may introduce the infernal proceſſion which troops behind her. The revolutionary demagogues of our country talk much of equality. They aſſure us, in their indefinite, unqualified language, that all men are equal. To aſcertain whether this aſſertion is true, we muſt recur to fact and experience. Nature, ſo far from having made all men equal, has made them very unequal. All men have not the ſame ſtrength and activity of body—all have not the ſame endowments and energies of mind. Theſe are facts which ſpeak in a language too plain not to be underſtood. Nature no where yokes up a dwarf with a giant, or a Newton with an ape. Amidſt her mighty profuſions of endowments, we diſcover an inſtinctive wiſdom, fitting the numerous parts of this ſtupendous whole to their ſeveral places; arranging them by orders, differences and contraſts, ſo as to conſtitute one perfect ſyſtem, whoſe parts are never all young, nor old, nor equal, but ſupported in a beautiful diverſity through a perpetually dying and reviving univerſe.

Society no leſs than nature makes great differences and inequalities among men. When the road to acquiſition is equally open to all—when the laws equally protect every man's perſon and property—all men will not make exertions equally great—all will not poſſeſs the ſame ſpirit of enterprize—all will not obtain acceſſions of wealth, of learning, virtue and honour, equally extenſive and important. The induſtrious, prudent citizen, will gain vaſt quantities of property, while the negligent and idle will remain in the depths of poverty. To the laſt, the doctrine of equality is like the muſic of angels. Energized by the ſound, he rouzes from his lethargy, and re-

vels on the divided ſpoils of his wealthy neighbour. That men in the ſocial ſtate are equal as to certain rights—that they ought to be protected in their perſons and property, while they conduct as good citizens, will undoubtedly be admitted. This, however, is a very different kind of equality from that which the promulgers of this pernicious doctrine intended to introduce. Their ſchemes of wicked ambition were, to overturn all the eſtabliſhed governments in the world, and to obtain an unlimited controul over the minds and bodies of men. Nothing could be more immediately conducive to this purpoſe, than to render all the ſubordinate ranks of ſociety diſſatisfied with their condition. This was to be accompliſhed by perſuading them, that the governments under which they lived were unjuſt and oppreſſive; that all religion was a vain and idle ſuperſtition; that there was no difference in men, except what aroſe from arbitrary violence; that the few who had acquired great wealth had no better right to it than the many who had acquired none; and that nothing could reſtore genuine liberty but the proſtration of every dignity and of every advantage, whether derived from the induſtry of man, or the bounty of God. The advocates of this pernicious ſyſtem of equality, in the career of their oppoſition to the laws of nature and ſociety, have expreſſed their fervent diſpleaſure at that reſpect which long has been, and I truſt long will be, attached to eminent and dignified men, exalted to the higher ſtations in government. This is an important part in the ſyſtem of univerſal diſorganization. For if you deſtroy all reſpect for magiſtrates, you deſtroy all confidence in them; and leave no ſecurity for the exiſtence of liberty or laws. The cry of our levelling democrats is, "reſpect the majeſty of the people."—Where are we to look for the majeſty of the people, except in the perſons exalted to office by the ſuffrages of the people? Theſe are the characters whoſe public adminiſtrations are to ſhew whether the people have any majeſty. The phraſe, "majeſty of the people," in its modern acceptation, brings into view ſuch an indefinite object, made of every gradation of character, from wiſdom to folly, from virtue to vice, from aſpiring ambition to brutal ſtupidity; that it ſerves only to perplex the mind, by rendering its views vaſt and irregular. We hope the American angle of viſion is not ſufficiently large, to

take in that indeſcribable farrago of majeſty, with which our modern levellers are ſo much enamoured. We hope we have ſtill judgment enough to diſtinguiſh merit, and gratitude enough to reward it. We are willing that the laws of nature, and the principles of civil aſſociation, ſhould ſtill be followed. We have not yet loſt all regard for ancient inſtitutions and ancient wiſdom. We reſpect our magiſtrates; we eſteem and protect the miniſters of our holy religion; we embrace as our brethren all our worthy fellow-citizens; we form our political ſyſtem after the great primeval model which deſcends from the ſource of infinite wiſdom; which combines into one harmonious whole, principalities and powers, and exhibits in one vaſt and brilliant aſſemblage, millions of different dignities, without envy and without revolution. Peace, and order, and rational liberty; theſe are the objects to which we are invincibly attached. If once illumined by the tranſforming doctrine of equality, we ſhall ſee the whole eſtabliſhment of nature reverſed. Walking on enchanted ground, we ſhall ſee vales uſurping the place of mountains; rivers whirling back to their ſources, and ſkies falling to embrace the earth. We ſhall ſee huge whales ſporting on the Andes, and clumſy bears flouncing in the Pacific. The planets in their courſes will utter cenſure at their Maker, and the moon will repine at the ſplendour of the ſun. When we are tranſformed into complete levellers, we can overleap, at one bound, all the mighty differences eſtabliſhed by infinite wiſdom; and, without a ſeeming diſguſt at the junction of eternally jarring principles, ſhall congratulate ourſelves that we have eſcaped the drudgery of human prudence, and emerged into a region of perfect day.

Another cauſe which has had an extenſive influence in producing and propagating erroneous notions reſpecting the nature of civil government, and which has rendered great numbers of people jealous and unhappy, is either an ignorant or deſigned miſrepreſentation of liberty. All reſtraints on the feelings, paſſions and actions of men, have been conſidered as the arbitrary mandates of a tyrant. It has generally been aſſerted, that when man quits the ſavage for the ſocial ſtate, he reſigns a part of liberty to ſecure the reſt. From this erroneous ſentiment have originated the moſt violent inveſtives againſt thoſe meaſures of government, which limit at a certain boundary the

exerciſe of civil rights, and render men reſponſible for the abuſe of thoſe rights. What liberty has man in the unſocial, uncivilized ſtate? I conceive he has none, which properly comes under the idea of liberty. True, he is exempt from the reſtraints of law: he is alſo deſtitute of the protection of law. He conſults no will, and no power but his own. Every man, therefore, in an uncivilized ſtate, is either a tyrant or a ſlave. No one can be ſure of the produce of his labour, or of the ſafety of his perſon. Viſionary theoriſts may amuſe themſelves with their pompous deſcriptions of the liberty of uncovenanted man; but fact and experience will tell us, that he has no liberty but in a ſociety governed by laws which controul every man's will, and protect the weak againſt the ſtrong. What is called liberty in any other ſtate, is properly the liberty of doing miſchief. It is licentiouſneſs or deſpotiſm. Government is by no means founded on what are called natural rights, but on conventional agreement. Every man in the uncivil ſtate claims a right to every thing. Of conſequence, every man ſets himſelf up for a tyrant. War and bloodſhed enſue, till the ſtrongeſt arm determines whoſe right is beſt founded. Every man in the uncivil ſtate claims a right to be the judge of his own cauſe, and the avenger of his own wrongs. He relinquiſhes both theſe rights when he enters into ſociety. He now has a claim to aſſiſtance and protection from the aggregate wiſdom and force of the community. Every right which he now poſſeſſes, reſts on the ſocial compact. He cannot now conduct himſelf in any way that is repugnant to eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitutions. Theſe preſcribe the rights of every individual, and theſe alone ſecure genuine civil liberty. In the ſocial ſtate, every man is at liberty without any reſponſibility to extend and to uſe his rights, ſo far as they do not interfere with the rights of others, or with the general good of the community. The moment a man abuſes his rights, with reſpect to the character, perſons or property of others, he becomes reſponſible, and deſerves puniſhment. For if no man is reſponſible for the abuſe of his rights, ſociety and liberty, with all their advantages, are deſtroyed.

A GOOD government is a ſyſtem of reſtraints on the actions and paſſions of its ſubjects. All good citizens will rank theſe reſtraints

among their rights, and not among their grievances. A ſpirit of rational liberty exults in ſubmiſſion to the controul of juſt and ſalutary laws. It conſiders theſe as its only aſylum againſt violence and outrage. A ſpirit of licentiouſneſs is impatient of all reſtraint, delights in perpetual revolutions, and always meaſures its right by its power. Some of the citizens of theſe States conſider our government as too complex in its ſtructure, and too expenſive in its operations. They confidently aſſure us, that a ſimple houſe of repreſentatives, with a ſpeaker, would fully anſwer every object of national importance. The ſimpleſt forms of government will generally ſecure ſome individual object better than the more complex; but they commonly leave the moſt important concerns unguarded. Every one who is verſed in the political hiſtory of nations, knows that the ends to be obtained by government are numerous, often difficult of acceſs, and, when obtained, difficult to be ſecured. No ſimple direction of power can poſſibly be accommodated to the complexity of human affairs. Hence it is that the due diſtribution of powers, ſo as to ſecure the greateſt number of advantages, with the feweſt inconveniences, has been conſidered, by the moſt profound politicians, as the moſt difficult part in the mechaniſm of civil inſtitutions. In governments where there is but one branch of power, there is no ſecurity for liberty. Simple democracies, whether managed by the whole people aſſembled, or by their repreſentatives, have always proved as tyrannical as the moſt deſpotic monarchies, and vaſtly more miſchievous. It is in vain to ſubſtitute theoretical ſpeculations in the place of facts. The modern zealots of revolutionary reform may tell us that the ſcience of government is of all others the moſt ſimple; that a nation, in order to be free, needs only an exertion of will; but the experience of ancient and modern times will tell us that the ſcience of government is of all others the moſt intricate: becauſe it is to be deduced from principles which nothing but experiment can develope: and that a nation, in order to be free, needs ſome wiſdom as well as will. But our reeking demagogues, in order to accompliſh their deſigns of demoliſhing all permanent eſtabliſhments, addreſs themſelves to the ſtubborn principle of will, and guide it, not by convincing the un-

derſtanding—not by preſenting a certain proſpect of improved liberty and happineſs—but by irritating the feelings, rouzing up the paſſions, and loading the ſoul with a ſenſe of unreal grievances.

The enemies of our own and of all other eſtabliſhed governments, in order to give complete ſucceſs to their ſchemes of deſtruction, have attempted to exterminate all religious and moral principles. They well knew, that if men would not fear and obey the Supreme Being, they would not any ſubordinate being. Hence it is, that ſuch efforts have been made to diſcredit the doctrines of natural and revealed religion. Hence it is, that cargoes of infidelity have been imported into our country, and induſtriouſly circulated to corrupt the minds and morals of the riſing generation. Efface the idea of a ſupreme controlling power from the minds of men, and you leave none of thoſe exalted motives, none of thoſe ennobling virtues, none of thoſe aſpiring principles of perfection, which have excited, adorned and animated the greateſt geniuſes of ancient and modern times. No government, except abſolute deſpotiſm, can ſupport itſelf over a people deſtitute of religion; becauſe ſuch a people poſſeſſes no principles on which governmental motives can operate to ſecure obedience. The moſt ſalutary laws can have no effect againſt general corruption of ſentiments and morals. The American people, therefore, have no way to ſecure their liberty, but by ſecuring their religion; for there is no medium between an entire deſtitution of religion and the moſt deplorable ſervitude. No nation, however ignorant and barbarous, except one, has ever attempted to ſupport a government without ſome reſpect to a Supreme Being. Let us then guard with the utmoſt vigilance againſt thoſe domineering, abandoned and arrogant philoſophiſts, who conſider themſelves as the aſylums of wiſdom, and the oracles of truth; who aſſert that there is no ſtandard of moral rectitude; and are ſtriving to perſuade man, that to be perfect, he needs only forget every thing exterior to himſelf, and ſuffer all his actions to be guided by the impulſes of his own nature. Theſe ſentiments, if reduced to practice, will undoubtedly deſtroy all moral, civil and ſocial obligations. For how can men form ſocieties, inſtitute governments, and cultivate arts and ſciences, who will be guided by no laws, and controlled by no power out of themſelves? Each one conſiders himſelf a del-

ty, and yet conducts like a brute! Each is an inſtinctive animal, and yet a perfect intelligence! Such are the effects of renouncing religion—of ſubſtituting ſpeculation in the room of experience!

We are called upon as citizens and as men, by the higheſt motives of duty, intereſt and happineſs, to reſiſt the innovations attempted on our government; to cultivate in ourſelves and others the genuine ſentiments of liberty, patriotiſm and virtue. After a long ſeries of peace, proſperity and happineſs, you are threatened with all the horrors and cruelties of war. The tempeſt thickens around you, and the thunder already begins to roar. A nation hardened in the ſcience of human butchery; accuſtomed to victory and plunder; exonerated from all thoſe reſtraints by which civilized nations are governed, lifts over your heads the iron ſceptre of deſpotic power. To terrify you into an unmanly ſubmiſſion, ſhe holds up to your view Venice, ſhorn of her glory; Holland, robbed, degraded and debaſed; Switzerland, with her deſolated fields, ſmoaking villages and lofty cliffs, reeking in blood amidſt the clouds. In the full proſpect of this mighty group, this thickening battalion of horrors, call up all your courage; fly back to the conſecrated altar of your liberty, and while your ſouls kindle at the hallowed fire, invigorate your attachment to the birth-day of your independence; to the government of your choice; feel with additional weight the neceſſity of united wiſdom, councils and exertions, and vow to the God of your fathers, that your lives and fortunes; that every thing you eſteem ſacred and dear; that all your energies and reſources, both of body and mind, are indiſſolubly bound to your ſovereignty and freedom. On all ſides you now behold the moſt energetic meaſures of defence. All is full of life, and ardour, and zeal. The brave youth, the flower and ſtrength of our country, ruſh into the field, and the eye of immortal Washington lightens along their embattled ranks. Approach theſe hallowed ſhores, ye butchers, who have ſlaughtered half Europe—you will find every defile a Thermopyle, and every plain a Marathon!—We already behold our fleet whitening the clouds with its canvaſs, and ſweeping the ocean with its thunder. The Gallic flag drops to American valour, and our intrepid ſailors ſing victory in the midſt of the tempeſt.—Brave men! you will fight

for your country while an inch of ſinew ſtretches on your bones, or a drop of blood throbs in your veins!—Fellow-Citizens, it is not by tribute, it is not by ſubmiſſion—it is by reſolution, it is by courage, that we are to ſave our country. Let our efforts and our wiſdom concentrate in the common cauſe, and ſhew to the world, that we are worthy that freedom which was won by the valour and blood of our fathers. Let our government, our religion and our liberty, foſtered by our care, and protected by our exertions, deſcend through the long range of ſucceeding ages, till all the pride and preſumption of human arrangements ſhall bow to the empire of univerſal love, and the glory of all ſublunary grandeur be forever extinguiſhed.

FINIS.